

**The Diary of Tamura Yoshikazu: Writing under the Gaze of the
Kokutai during the Japanese Imperial Army New Guinea
Campaign**

by

**Victoria Eaves-Young
B.A (Asian Studies) M. Asian Studies**

**A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Japanese)**

**The School of Asian Languages and Studies
Department of Japanese
Faculty of Arts
The University of Tasmania, Australia
August, 2011**

Declaration of Originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed

Authority of Access

This thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968.

Signed

Statement of Ethical Conduct

The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University.

Signed.....

Dedication

In memory of Herbert Cooper, (my grandfather),
and the diarist, Tamura Yoshikazu.

I dedicate this thesis to these two rural soldiers,
who, despatched to horrendous battlefield conditions
in two very different conflicts, and at two
very different times, dedicated themselves to
a cause in which they believed.

Acknowledgements

I give sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr Barbara Hartley, whose expert advice, unflagging guidance and, above all, profound insight, have taught me dedication to scrupulous research and scholarly writing, which have enabled this thesis to reach completion. My journey began under the guidance of Dr Maria Flutsch, whose unfailing patience, meticulous attention to detail and genuine personal touch never failed to inspire. Facilitating the progress of the work were Mayumi Shinozaki at the National Library of Australia, Keiko Tamura at the Australian War Memorial, and Machiko Ishikawa at the University of Tasmania. Much appreciated guidance has also been forthcoming from Dr Carol Hayes and Shun Ikeda at the Australian National University, and Yoji Hashimoto at the University of Tasmania. Encouragement has been so freely offered by Dr Michael Peterkin of the ACT. Many thanks also to John and Danny Williams for their generous hospitality and friendship.

This long and at times emotionally taxing project has been made so much easier by the love of my family. I applaud my wonderful husband, Geoffrey, who has continued to support and assist me and, more importantly, believe in me. Thanks go to my children, Issabel, Georgia, Zachary and Kyle, grandchildren Amelie, Luke and Maxwell, and my encouraging parents, Arthur and Shirley Cooper, who have all been patiently waiting in the wings of my life as the writing of this thesis, year after year, took centre stage. Finally, the journey has reached its destination. I offer this work to the memory of Tamura Yoshikazu, and to all who have graced and touched my life.

Hito wa chitte mo, na wo nokosu.

Table of Contents

Declaration of Originality and Authority of Access.....	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Abstract.....	viii
Glossary of Terms	ix
Introduction	1
Tamura's Diary and Diary Writing in Japan	7
The Wider Practice of Diary Writing in the Japanese Military	9
Chapter Overview	11
The Emperor, Death, and <i>Yamato Damashii</i>	21
Nature.....	26
Relinquishing the self	28
Relevant Scholarship	31
Notes on Conventions	36
Chapter One: An Extraordinary Diary of an Ordinary Soldier	39
Introduction	39
Who Was Tamura Yoshikazu?	40
Before New Guinea.....	44
A Soldier's Journey.....	46
Becoming the Emperor's Soldier	53
The Campaign in the South So Far.....	55
The Diary.....	58
How Does Tamura Write?	61
For Whom Does Tamura Write?	63
The Influence of the <i>Kokutai</i> Gaze.....	71
What Does Tamura Write?.....	75
Why Does Tamura Write?	78
Chapter Two: <i>Kokutai</i>, Death and a Sense of Country for Soldiers	94
Introduction	94
The emergence of the <i>kokutai</i> – the re-creation of ancient myth	97
The Motif of the Emperor as a Symbol of Sacrifice	98
Japan as the Sublime	100
Man's Greatest Calling: The Dark Side of <i>Yamato Damashii</i>	105

Disseminating <i>Kokutai</i> ideology.....	109
Conscripting the Emperor's Armed Forces.....	110
The <i>Kokutai</i> as Dysfunctional Military Family.....	116
Creating (Tragic) Heroes.....	123
Ego Involvement: Reward for Loyalty.....	132
From Ritualism to Unconditional Conformism.....	135
Priming the <i>Kokutai</i> for War: The <i>Kokutai no Hongi</i>	138
Educating in the <i>Kokutai</i>	146
War and the <i>Kokutai</i>	152
Wholesale acceptance?.....	155
Ensuring Soldiers' Compliance: The <i>Senjinkun</i> (Instructions for the Battlefield) ..	157
Chapter Three: Out of Country	161
Introduction.....	161
Out of Landscape.....	163
The Landscape of Deprivation.....	171
A Hell-hole of a Place.....	177
The Jungle as Physically Perverse.....	181
The Jungle as Disorder.....	184
The Ennui of Endless Rain.....	186
The Spectre of Starvation.....	193
Disease, Illness and Utter Fatigue.....	204
Submitting to Power.....	209
Communication Breakdown.....	216
Chapter Four: Creating an Idealized World	223
Introduction.....	223
Letters as Solace.....	226
Letters as Comfort.....	241
Media.....	251
Journey through the Past.....	256
Travel in the Homeland.....	258
Journey across the Continent.....	270
Chapter Five: Re-visioning a Familiar Landscape.....	283
Introduction.....	283
Nature: Controller or Controlled.....	284
Re-creating an Emotionally Accommodating Landscape.....	287
Autumn as a Seasonal Anchor.....	293

Re-imaging Remembered Landscape	296
Mountains as Redemption	305
The Moon as Traveller	312
The Sky and the Moon as Surreal Landscape	322
Chapter Six: Death as Man's True Calling.....	336
Introduction	336
Submitting to <i>taigi</i> – The Great Obligation to Die.....	338
The Already Dead	353
Self Motivating To Death	358
The Ocean as Facilitator to a Noble Death.....	361
Motifs of Death.....	375
Chapter Seven: Challenges to a Resolve to Die	382
Introduction	382
Relinquishing a Sense of Self - <i>jibun ga nai</i>	383
The Useless Rhetoric of the Emancipation of Asia	390
The Tedium, the Terror and the Lowly Role	395
Death as Ignoble Reality	412
A Life Flawed.....	428
Chapter Eight: Reconciling Death.....	441
Introduction	441
The Final Inhuman Effort to Become a Man without a Me.....	441
Returning to the Main Focus: The Final Effacement of Self.....	455
The Struggle to Live Well: Embracing the Shadow of Death.....	458
Under the Spirit of <i>Yamato damashii</i>	464
Accepting Death: The Final Act of Loyalty	466
Conclusion.....	475
Bibliography References and Figures	489
Bibliography	489
Supplementary Bibliography	502
AWM Bulletins	502
AWM Current Translations	502
AWM Enemy Publications.....	503
AWM Interrogation Reports	503
AWM Research Reports	504
CICSPF	504
Far Eastern Liaison Office (FELO) Land Headquarters (AWM 94)	504

Web Sites	504
Figures References.....	505

Figures Table

Figure 1. Photo taken of framed photograph of Tamura Yoshikazu in the family altar in Oyama, March 2009.....	40
Figure 2. Map of Tochigi Prefecture Removed due to copyright.....	40
Figure 3. Map of Japan Removed due to copyright.....	41
Figure 4. View from the original Tamura family home in Oyama, Tochigi Prefecture. Photo taken March 2009	42
Figure 5. The original Tamura home in Oyama, Tochigi Prefecture.....	42
Figure 6. The family Buddhist altar in the original Tamura home. Photographed March 2009..	45
Figure 7. Tamura Sadanobu and daughter with the original diary. Photographed March 2009.	46
Figure 8. Map of Japan, Korea and China highlighting the areas mentioned in Tamura's diary Removed due to copyright	50
Figure 9. Page one of Tamura's diary	51
Figure 10. An example of a Japanese Army Issue Diary	58
Figure 11. Map of New Guinea highlighting the areas in which Tamura's regiment was deployed Removed due to copyright	59
Figure 12. Inabayama no tsuki	288